

A REPORT CONSISTENT WITH THE AUTHORIZATION
FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RES-
OLUTION

COMMUNICATION

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

A REPORT INCLUDING MATTERS RELATING TO POST-LIBERATION
IRAQ AS CONSISTENT WITH THE AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF
MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RESOLUTION OF 2002 (PUBLIC
LAW 107-243).



OCTOBER 16, 2003.—Referred to the Committee on International Relations
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THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 14, 2003.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 (Public Law 107–243), the Authorization for the Use of Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102–1), and in order to keep the Congress fully informed, I am providing a report prepared by my Administration. This report includes matters relating to post-liberation Iraq under section 7 of the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105–338).

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. BUSH.

REPORT TO CONGRESS

Submitted consistent with PL 107-243:
"Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution
of 2002"

October 2003

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I. Executive Summary

This report covers approximately the period from July 19, 2003 to approximately September 25, 2003. During this period, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), under the leadership of Ambassador L. Paul Bremer and emerging Iraqi executive, security and administrative structures, made significant progress toward addressing the many challenges facing liberated Iraq.

Security remained the CPA's highest priority. Still, deadly attacks were instigated by backers of the former regime, and by extremists who infiltrated from outside Iraq. Violence directed against those committed to assisting Iraqis and against the Iraqi people themselves, as well as against Coalition forces, led to tragic losses, including the U.N. Secretary General's representative, a prominent Iraqi Shi'ite religious leader, and a member of the Iraq Governing Council (GC).

In the face of these challenges, the CPA redoubled efforts to establish a secure environment for the Iraqi people and has made significant progress in rehabilitating and professionalizing Iraq's police force. Steps have also been taken to form a civilian defense force to protect Iraq's strategic infrastructure.

Reconstructing Iraq's infrastructure, devastated by war and years of neglect, continued to be a high priority. Electrical power production received significant attention and effort, as did repair of other dilapidated and sabotaged infrastructure, including water supplies, health facilities, and schools. This report will summarize the breadth of reconstruction activities throughout Iraq.

Intensive efforts are underway to solicit international contributions for both reconstruction and stabilization. In Resolution 1500, the United Nations Security Council established the U.N. Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI). On reconstruction, the focus has been on preparing for the October 23-24 Donors Conference in Madrid. The goal will be to elicit significant and sustained commitments from the international community to support the efforts of the Iraqi people to rebuild their country.

Finally, steps toward representative democracy gained momentum. The 25-member Governing Council (GC), the principal body of the Iraqi interim administration contemplated by

Resolution 1483, appointed an interim ministerial cabinet as well as a committee to develop procedures for drafting a constitution. U.N. Security Council Resolution 1500 welcomed formation of the GC, and the U.N. General Assembly (UNGA) accepted the GC's appointment of representatives to participate in the UNGA. Other international organizations and bodies, including the Arab League and OPEC, have also accepted the GC and interim ministers as representing Iraq.

Relief and reconstruction efforts are summarized in section II. International initiatives are discussed in section III. Democracy building and governance issues are described in section IV. Military operations are covered in section V.

II. Relief and Reconstruction

Security

Security continues to be the top Coalition priority. A secure environment is the foundation for success in Iraq, and a fundamental task in our administration of Iraq. The Coalition has made significant progress since the collapse of the Iraqi regime, but substantial challenges remain.

The security situation in Iraq is complex. In most areas, the security environment is generally permissive -- there is reasonable freedom of movement, recovery activities proceed without significant hindrance, and Coalition forces are engaged in stability operations. In other areas, the environment is less permissive, and Coalition forces continue to operate against remnants of the Baathist regime and foreign-supported terrorists.

The fragility of the situation was underscored by terrorist attacks on the people of Iraq, the United Nations, Coalition forces, and the international community. The bombing of the U.N. headquarters on August 19 resulted in the death of U.N. Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello and members of his and other international humanitarian staffs. On August 20, the U.N. Security Council, chaired by Syria, issued a statement unconditionally condemning the attack. The attack of August 29 at the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf took the lives of nearly a hundred Iraqi civilians, as well as a distinguished Shi'a Muslim Cleric, Mohamed Bakr al-Hakim.

The Coalition's approach to establishing security in Iraq is multifaceted, but a key component is engaging Iraqis to assist in providing for the security of their own country. The Coalition

has moved quickly to train and establish Iraqi police forces and has begun recruiting, vetting, and training the first members of the new Iraqi Army. As of mid-September 2003, approximately 49,300 police had been hired, and recruitment programs were underway to raise that number to more than 75,000 over the next 2 years.

The CPA established a Facilities Protective Service (FPS) for fixed-site protection of Ministerial, Government and private buildings. As of mid-September this Service was more than 13,000 strong with planned end-strength of 20,000 by January 2004. An Iraqi Civil Defense Corps (ICDC) has been established to provide security and stability to the Iraqi people. Tasks for the ICDC include: constabulary duties, including patrolling urban and rural areas, search and seizure, fixed site, check point, area, route and convoy security, crowd and riot control; disaster response services; search and rescue; support for humanitarian missions; and disaster recovery operations. Currently 2,400 have been trained and are employed. The goal is 26 battalions (22,000) by March 2004; elements of the first battalions (3,000) are now in training. Iraqi Border Guards are aiding in the security of border crossings and enforcing customs and immigration laws. Current Border Guard strength is 6,900.

Efforts are also underway to build a new Iraqi army, which will reflect Iraq's religious and ethnic diversity and whose mission will be defensive only. The first battalion, 736 strong, is scheduled to graduate from training in early October 2003. A force of three Divisions (27 battalions) is projected by September 2004. About 60 percent of current recruits have some sort of military background. Officers for the initial force will be selected by U.S. officials from among the recruits.

Food

Food distribution has continued using the Public Distribution System (PDS), as the result of CPA cooperation with the United Nations World Food Program (WFP). WFP operations continue to transport food primarily through Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, and increasingly through the port of Umm Qasr. WFP has dispatched over 1.8 million metric tons (MT) of food and 1.6 MT has been distributed. This system reaches all Iraqis, including those excluded under the Saddam regime.

These activities will continue until Iraq becomes more self-sufficient and transitions to a more market-based system. As the first step in this process, preparations continue in the three

northern governorates of Arbil, Dahu, and Al-Sulaymaniyah for the handover of the PDS to local authorities. As an important step, the CPA, working with the Iraqi Trade Ministry, the World Food Program, and the Food and Agricultural Organization, has bought 960,000 MT of Iraqi harvests at a fair price.

Health

The public health situation has stabilized and is improving throughout the country. There have been no health crises. All major hospitals and 95 percent of local clinics were open and functioning as of mid-September 2003. At least 22.3 million doses of vaccines to cover 4.2 million children and 700,000 pregnant women had been procured. As of late September, 1.4 million doses had been administered during monthly vaccination days funded primarily by USAID.

CPA activities continue to focus on working with the Ministry of Health to ensure that basic health care services are available to all Iraqis. Nearly all of Iraq's 240 hospitals, 10 specialty centers, and more than 1,200 clinics are open and receiving patients. Iraq's pharmaceutical and medical supply distribution system, known as Kimadia, are functional under the auspices of the Ministry of Health with supplies flowing to hospitals, clinics and warehouses throughout the country. An Iraqi International Medical Assistance Committee (IMAC) is established and coordinating offers of assistance and supplies from non-governmental organizations throughout the world. This Committee ensures that donations are carefully vetted and targeted to existing needs. In addition, CPA and Iraq's Ministry of Health (MOH) are currently developing a health strategy for the country.

Extensive looting and decades of governmental neglect continue to be major infrastructure challenges that must be addressed. Facilities and basic medical equipment are in need of maintenance and repair. The CPA has purchased new generators for hospitals in Baghdad and has begun renovation of the Ministry of Health headquarters in Baghdad. The Senior Advisor for the Ministry of Health is coordinating an overall assessment of health care needs throughout the country and is focusing all available resources on the pressing infrastructure needs. USAID is also renovating over 60 primary health clinics and over 600 are being re-equipped to provide life saving health services at the local level throughout Iraq.

Electrical Power

The CPA efforts have aimed at rapidly achieving pre-war power levels throughout Iraq. Power generation peaked at over 3,700 MW during the time of this report by September 26, 2003. Challenges continue, including a dilapidated power infrastructure coupled with looting and sabotage directed at the power infrastructure. As of mid-September, outdated thermal generation plants continued to experience mechanical failures. Outages in specific areas also have ripple effects in other sectors such as water and oil. Steady progress is being made, however, to restore and increase production. The CPA, together with the new interim Minister for Electricity, an experienced Iraqi-American engineer, is working with USAID contractors, the US Army Corps of Engineers and with the Iraq Electricity Commission to improve power generation in the short term and repair the power infrastructure in the longer term, including reaching the goal of 6,000 MW by Spring 2004.

Water and Sanitation

The focus of activities has been on increasing water supplies to pre-war levels and restoring sewage treatment plants to operation. Much of Iraq is at or near pre-war water availability, and there are no critical water shortages. By mid-August 2003, Baghdad's water supply levels reached the pre-war level of 2,000 million liters, with 130 critical breaks having been repaired. Baghdad's potable water supply improved by 200 million liters/day through the completion of the Saba Nissam Expansion Project. By the end of October, generating units will be installed that will improve water distribution throughout the city. In the Basrah Governorate, efforts continue to upgrade the water distribution system, with significant progress having been made by the end of September.

Projects are also underway to repair sewers and sewage treatment facilities. As of late August, 70 of the non-operational sewerage pumping stations in Baghdad had been rehabilitated. The Ministry of Water Resources, CPA and USAID continue to evaluate and implement projects to repair sewers and sewage treatment facilities in Baghdad and throughout Iraq. In South Central Iraq, through October, contracts and subcontracts will be put out for bids on work at An Najaf water treatment plant and An Najaf, Karbala', and Ad Diwaniyah wastewater treatment plants. Bid and work timetables will be scheduled to minimize their impact on Ramadan religious observances in October and November. Significant progress has been made in

desalinization and restoration of some of the southern waterways.

Iraq's southern marshlands were devastated by the former regime. A team of experts has made a scope visit to the region and a more comprehensive evaluation, which will examine hydrological and socioeconomic conditions, is scheduled for the Fall of 2003.

Oil and Fuels

The restoration of Iraqi oil production and exports has progressed rapidly since July, despite ongoing acts of sabotage against pipelines and other infrastructure. Production has reached nearly 2 million barrels per day (b/d) and exports have increased from 450,000 barrels per day (b/d) in July to just over 1 million b/d by late September. Repairing and securing the oft-sabotaged Iraq-Turkey pipeline, which transports crude from northern Iraq to the Turkish port of Ceyhan, will be a key milestone for achieving near-term gains in export levels.

The domestic fuel situation also continues to improve. In late-August and September, improved refinery operations -- largely a result of steadier flows of crude feedstock and more reliable power supplies -- and product imports have consistently met or exceeded daily demand requirement for gasoline, kerosene, and diesel. Supplies of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) continue to lag daily demand requirements by roughly 20 percent, but expected increases in LPG production in October and higher imports are expected to boost supplies in the near-term.

Public Safety/Law and Order

Responsible public safety institutions and personnel are indispensable for long-term progress in Iraq. CPA activity has focused on vetting, hiring, training and deploying Iraqi police forces and other security forces to assist in establishing and maintaining a secure and permissive environment. Law and order efforts are complicated by the fact that paramilitary groups comprised of hard-line Ba'athists and outside extremists seek to undermine public confidence by fomenting disorder. Thus, restoring public safety remains more challenging than dealing with ordinary criminals and conventional felonies.

As of mid-September, more than 49,300 police officers had been rehired, and progress continued toward reaching a goal of 75,000 personnel by December 2005. Training by Coalition

personnel continues throughout the country. Challenges remain, however, with work needed to reform and professionalize the police to ensure that they will form an institution based on public service and respect for human rights. We continued to work with Coalition partners and others to find ways to improve training and to equip the Iraqi police and security services.

To protect Iraq's strategic infrastructure, government buildings and other sites, the CPA has established a Facilities Protection Service (FPS). As of this report, this service was 13,110 strong, with 5,700 on duty in Baghdad. More than 240 sites were being protected. The goal is to deploy 20,000 FPS guards throughout Iraq.

Justice Reform

Since July 2003, the CPA has pursued a number of initiatives in the judicial reform area. An important initiative was the announcement during Secretary Powell's trip to Iraq on September 15 of the independence of the Iraqi judiciary from the Iraqi Ministry of Justice, an arm of the Executive Branch. In 1979, Saddam Hussein reorganized the Iraqi judiciary, placing it under the Minister of Justice. Independence of the judiciary was a key recommendation of the Future of Iraq Project, Transitional Justice working group.

The CPA's Office of Human Rights and Transitional Justice worked closely with various committees established by the Governing Council on accountability for the crimes of the previous regime, legal reform and related subjects.

Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

Conditions are not right for large-scale refugee returns at this time. The CPA and the Governing Council are working with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR) to prepare policies and procedures to assist the return and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). There are 800,000 IDPs in Iraq, and UNHCR estimates that 500,000 Iraqi refugees outside Iraq would seek to return as conditions improve. In addition, Iraq hosts 120,000 non-Iraqi refugees (Palestinians, Iranians, Turks, and Syrians).

The Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs is chairing an inter-ministerial committee created to address refugee/IDP needs. This committee is working with the CPA to build a common policy framework to accommodate both refugees and IDPs. This framework

will include a strategy for dealing with property disputes and national reconciliation. Efforts are being made to "mainstream" humanitarian issues into all relevant ministries' strategic plans and budgets.

Education

Significant progress has been made toward preparing primary and secondary schools for the upcoming school year. Funded by \$10 million from U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the U.N. Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) will make available 5 million revised math and science textbooks in October 2003. The revision of 45 math and science textbooks for kindergarten through twelfth grade has been completed. Programs are on track to deliver student and school kits, which provide learning and teaching materials, for 1.5 million secondary students and 3,900 secondary schools by the start of the school year.

A number of Iraq's 12,000 primary and all secondary schools in permissive areas have been assessed and physical repairs have been completed on a substantial number of them. As examples, by mid-September work was underway on 600 schools in Baghdad, 168 schools in northern Iraq, and more than 450 schools in south central and southern Iraq. Work on more than 200 schools was completed in the same timeframe. Also, by mid-September, school desk distribution was underway in Baghdad and is continuing across Iraq. It is projected that by the beginning of the school year, all requests for teachers' desks and 38 percent of requests for students' desks will have been met.

Public Telecommunications

Restoration of Iraq's public telecommunications consists of the installation of switches and the repair of the fiber-optic backbone. As of mid-September, site preparation was progressing at the 12 Baghdad telephone switch locations, with project completion projected for early 2004. International satellite link should be established by end of October. Network restoration activities were completed or underway at eight sites. Once these efforts are completed telephone service will be restored to nearly one-quarter of a million pre-war subscribers in Baghdad, raising the total serviceable telephones to over one million.

Repair of Iraq's 2,000 kilometer-long fiber-optic network from north of Mosul through Baghdad and south to Nasiriyah and

Umm Qasr will be completed by January 2004. It will reconnect 20 cities and Baghdad, covering 70 percent of Iraq.

Transportation Infrastructure and Ports of Entry

Airports:

As of mid-September, Baghdad and Basrah airports were operational, receiving Coalition and non-commercial charter flights. Scheduled commercial operations at Baghdad and Basra airports have not resumed due to security concerns.

Seaport:

The Umm Qasr port re-opened to commercial traffic on July 17, 2003. The process to open port berths remains well ahead of schedule, with 50,000-ton cargo ships able to use the port. Major dredging activities are now complete and the port is able to handle ships at all 21 berths. Container and roll-off cargoes are arriving at Umm Qasr. Repair to grain silos was completed in the beginning of September, enabling grain from vessels to be stored. Petroleum is being transshipped through Umm Qasr, and container and roll-off cargoes are also arriving. The transfer of authority of port operations is expected to take place before the end of the year.

Bridges and roads:

The construction of a four-lane bypass road has been completed, allowing travel around the damaged Al-Mat bridge. The bypass road provides a key commercial link from Baghdad and other Iraqi cities to Jordan. More than 3,000 trucks carrying humanitarian and commercial supplies use this route daily.

The Ministry of Public Works has identified the following three bridges as top priorities: 1) the Al-Mat bridge, which is in danger of collapse; 2) the Khazir bridge, which is located near Mosul and is critical to the flow of fuel and agricultural products in the northern region; and 3) the Tikrit bridge, which provides an important commercial link between Tikrit and Tuz Khurmatu.

Railroads:

The government-owned railroad system has not been sufficiently maintained and will require significant capital investment to address deferred maintenance and lack of spare parts. Repair is underway on a 72-kilometer stretch from Umm Qasr port to Suiaba Junction to ensure that grain shipments from the port to the mills are not jeopardized.

III. International Initiatives

Debt

The administration is investigating options for helping a post-conflict Iraqi government deal with its financial vulnerabilities, including external debt. Over the last few months, we have worked with the international community to understand Iraq's overall financial and debt situation. At the September 22 - 25 IMF/World Bank meetings in Dubai, G-7 Finance Ministers called on the Paris Club to try to complete restructuring of Iraq's debt before the end of 2004 and urged non-Paris Club creditors to cooperate. Importantly, we have secured consensus among Paris Club creditors not to expect Iraq to service its debt obligations through 2004. Working within the Paris Club, we have collected data on Paris Club creditor claims on Iraq. At the same time, the IMF has requested data from non-Paris Club members on their Iraqi claims.

International Donors

Efforts have also focused on preparing for the October 23-24 Donors Conference in Madrid. The goal will be to elicit significant and sustained commitments from the international community to support the efforts of the Iraqi people to rebuild their country.

The U.N. Security Council, in Resolution 1500, established the U.N. Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI).

IV. Transition to Democracy

Governing Council and Cabinet

After nationwide consultations with the full spectrum of Iraqi society, a 25-member Governing Council (GC) was formed on July 9. This is a key step in transforming Iraq into a free, representative democracy. The Council members were drawn from a broad range of Iraq's ethnic and religious communities, and include representatives of Iraq's Shia, Sunni, Christian, Arab, Kurd, Assyrian and Turkoman communities. The members also represent a diversity of backgrounds, including professionals and civic leaders, formerly exiled political activists, and religious clerics. The Council initially included three women. Tragically, one of them, Dr. Akila Al Hashimi, died on September 25, 5 days after being attacked by unknown assailants.

The formation of the 25-member GC was followed by the GC's naming of a committee to develop procedures for drafting a constitution, and by the GC's appointment of an interim cabinet of ministers. These bodies are broadly representative of the regional, ethnic, and religious diversity of Iraq, although only one woman was appointed as an interim minister. The CPA, with Army Civil Affairs units and USAID, have worked to establish governing institutions at the local and regional level.

The GC has significant authorities, including naming and overseeing interim Ministers (as they have done), formulating national budgets, and appointing Iraqi representatives to international organizations and bilateral missions. The newly named interim Ministers face the formidable task of restoring their ministries to full functionality. The CPA remains the internationally recognized responsible authority in Iraq, and CPA Senior Advisors will continue to advise the ministries and monitor developments.

The GC and the Interim Cabinet have achieved international acknowledgement and acceptance. The U.N. Security Council, in Resolution 1500, welcomed the appointment of the GC. In September 2003, the Arab League accepted the interim Foreign Minister and his representatives as full participating members. Also in September, the interim Oil Minister was accepted as the Iraqi representative at the OPEC meeting in Vienna. The GC was also able to participate at the IBRD/IMF annual meeting in Dubai.

Local Governance:

In addition to the support for political transition on the national level, significant progress has been made at the local governance level. Seventeen of Iraq's 18 governorates (provinces) are governed by broadly representative councils or legislatures. Neighborhood councils now represent 88 of Baghdad's neighborhoods to the district and city councils. Local governance advisory councils are now active in 14 governorates throughout the country.

Throughout Iraq, more than 604 small grants totaling more than \$31.2 million have been awarded in 14 governorates. Examples of projects include creation, in two Baghdad municipalities alone, of over 20,000 temporary jobs to carry out public sanitation projects. Local Governorate facilities have been refurbished and refurnished in many areas, and offices supplies and equipment have been provided to town councils

across Iraq. NGOs are being supported in a number of areas to improve service delivery and advocate on behalf of citizens' interests.

USAID local governance teams are working with government institutions to promote a culture of public service and a government accountable to its citizens. The teams are also working with citizens and civil society organizations to identify their needs and priorities, and to facilitate communication of those needs back to their government representatives.

V. Military Operations

As of mid-September 2003, there were approximately 154,000 military personnel in Iraq, consisting of 131,000 U.S. and 23,000 Coalition forces with the primary mission to establish a secure environment that enables reconstruction and reform actions. The number of non-U.S. Coalition forces has more than doubled since July, with 31 countries participating as of September 25, 2003.

Coalition military operations were conducted to capture and/or destroy organized anti-Coalition forces, leaders, and materiel. Of particular note was the operation that resulted in the deaths of Saddam Hussein's sons, Uday and Qasay, who were known participants in the most extreme violations of human rights and international law committed by the former regime.

During this period, attacks against Coalition forces continued, perpetrated primarily by former regime loyalists, foreign extremists, terrorists, and criminals. Sabotage and looting continued, but Coalition and Iraqi security forces reduced the number of attacks directed against essential public infrastructure targets, such as the water and electrical services. Sabotage of the Iraqi oil infrastructure, including pipelines and pumping stations, inhibited the pumping and distribution of Iraqi crude oil, particularly for export.

Our military forces will continue to work with the Iraqi interim administration and other emerging institutions, the Iraqi people, and our Coalition and supporting partners to bring security to Iraq. As President Bush has emphasized, we remain firm in our resolve, for as long as necessary, to accomplish the mission of securing Iraq to enable the Iraqi people to rebuild their nation and their institutions.

As the President has indicated previously, it is not possible to know at this time either the duration of military operations or the scope and duration of the deployment of United States Armed Forces necessary for the full accomplishment of our goals.

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